Special Supplement ...inside

Black Panther Party in New Haven

AIM

THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT NEWSLETTER
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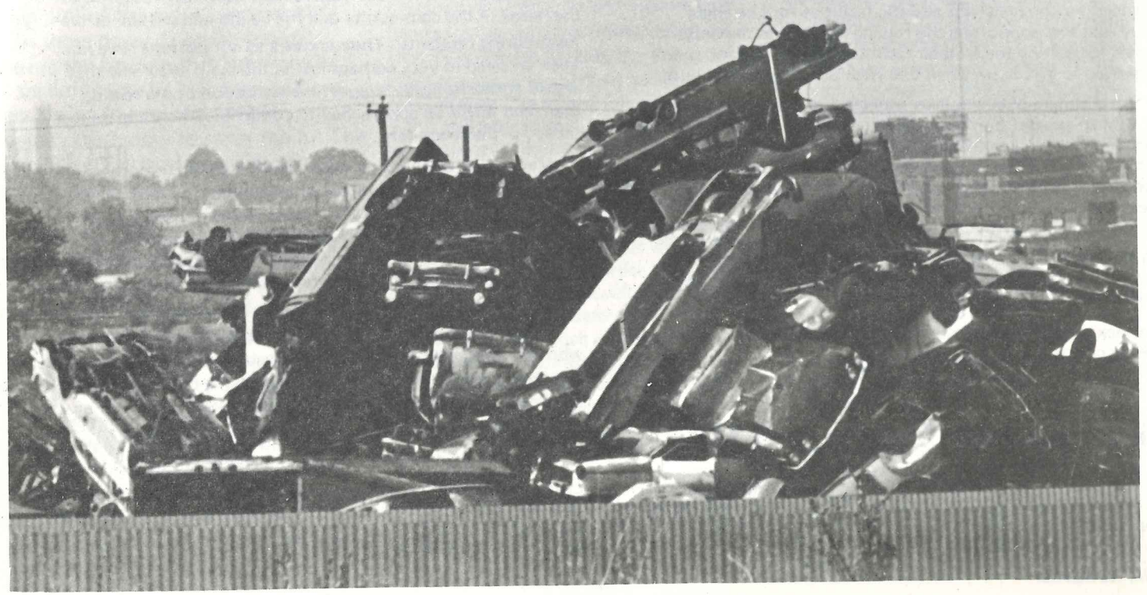
State Street: Plan for Disaster



news briefs

Land Rape by Eli

A public hearing on the proposed rowing course to be built in Edgewood Park by the International Rowing Course Foundation was held in the Hall of Records hearing room on Wednesday evening, December 10, and was attended by about 300 people. Juan Trippe, a rich Yale alumnus and head of Pan American airlines, opened the hearing by speaking on behalf of the International Rowing Course Foundation. He talked about the benefits of having an Olympic size rowing course in our own backyard, which would attract foreign trade, and of putting New Haven on the "rowing" map.

Following Trippe other members of the International Rowing Course Foundation spoke about the design and appearance of the proposed rowing course, using slides of European castles as examples, and about the importance of rowing as a national and an international sport.

After the initial speakers (Juan Trippe and his corporate cohorts) opponents of the rowing course were given the next hour. Generally, this testimony was concerned with the protection and preservation of the public parklands which are fast diminishing. The underhanded tactics used by the International Rowing Course Foundation and the City Administration were also attacked and questioned. The highlight of the testimony against (and perhaps the entire evening) was the offering of the Mill River as a substitute for the West River by Tom Trippe of the Fair Haven Betterment Association. Slides showing the fine features of the Mill River and its accompanying scenic landscape were shown during this presentation (see testimony below).

There was no outright testimony *for* the rowing course.

In the period designated for the proponents of the rowing course to speak, Joe Harris, chairman of the Black Coalition, mayoralty candidate, Hank Parker, students from Lee High School and the Principal of Lee High, all emphasized the need for the proposed athletic facilities for Lee High. They said that supporting the rowing course was the only means for getting the athletic facilities which the city neglected to give them when Lee High School was first built.

An alternate plan was then proposed by David Dickson of AIM to expand the city's park system down to New Haven harbor. This plan would locate the Lee High School athletic facilities next to the Hill neighborhood and would enlarge and make the existing parkland more accessible for public recreation.

It has already been decided that the rowing course will be built. Again, the people have had no choice, but maybe we can still get the badly needed athletic facilities for Lee High School and extra park land.

(See next AIM Newsletter for the complete story on the rowing course.)

A Humble Xmas Gift

Following is the testimony of Tom Tripp of the Fair Haven Betterment Association at the Rowing Course hearing described above.

One of the Parks of New Haven (which are much too scarce now to serve the heavily taxed citizens of New Haven) already may be in jeopardy through vast changes of park land usage, if the international rowing course proposal is accepted. We, for the people of Fair Haven, at this lovely season of giving, wish to solve this huge problem by presenting the Foundation, and its colleagues at Yale, with a Christmas gift of a landmark of Fair Haven, steeped in history and known to all....The Fragrant Mill River.

Please accept our gift of the Mill River for the Rowing Course. We feel this is particularly appropriate, for the rowing house still remains on the nearby Quinnipiac River banks and is still operable. We have learned that this facility was used, some 30 years ago. The Mill River would offer a scenic route for the rowers...the majestic stacks of the U.I. belch forth colorful smoke day and night. The river flows sluggishly by heavily wooded area on its east bank (the Batter Lumber Company). At this point, the endurance of the rowers may be tested by the heavy sludge contributed freely by the Federal Paper Board Company and Simpkins Industry and the New Haven Sewage System.

We feel that certain innovations in rowing will have to be made in order to adjust to the atmosphere and to make rowing a truly modern sport. We would suggest the following:

1. Boats should be equipped with fans for fresh air and plows for cutting through floating fibre mats.
2. Disinfectant for the toes of rowers, to prevent sewage fungus.
3. Blinders for the rowers, so the sight of dead fish should not cause lost strokes.
4. Gas masks for the heavy sulfur fumes rising from the River and from the U.I. Co.
5. Last but not least,...Typhoid Shots.

All industries mentioned above have been very receptive to the needs of the community and the health and welfare of the neighboring residents. Their answers to our protests have not been received as yet...perhaps lost in the mail. We know they would enthusiastically support the relocation of the rowing plan, and might be approached to donate bleachers and oxygen tanks for the spectators.

Mayor Lee, at one time, suggested the possibility of enclosing the Mill River by some sort of huge piping system. This would facilitate the use of the rowing course throughout the winter months, with the enclosure being heated up even further by the thermal pollution of the U.I. Company. What a surprise it would be for the sports fans of America to see who would emerge first from this tunnel.

We ask you now, Fellow citizens of our New, New Haven, who are constantly told to worry not about air and water and life...but concentrate on the really important things, like Rowing Courses and Parking Garages, to Join with Us, by your applause, in the presentation of this Humble Christmas gift.

May we see you rowers soon in our Fairest....Fair Haven.

Last Year on Christmas Eve, the Fair Haven Betterment Association marched to the Mill River and dumped purfume and roses into the smelly mess hoping to clean the air somewhat.

by AIM Environment Committee

The Redevelopment Agency surpassed all of its previous double dealing at the hastily called Thanksgiving public hearing before the Urban Development Committee of the Board of Aldermen. This was the second public hearing this year on the proposed half-mile long State Street garage. The Agency is having a hard time pulling the wool over people's eyes these days. It became clear during the hearing that the Agency is spending most of its time and money trying to fool the people Haven rather than to serve them. The people are catching on to the Redevelopment Game.

The plan had been rejected by the Board a year and a half ago by a vote of 18 to 9. But the Agency has resubmitted the plan for a half-mile long, 5000 car garage on State Street. Several interesting things were revealed at the hearing:

***The agency is keeping a secret dossier on opponents of their plans.**

***The New Haven Savings Bank is trying to blackmail the city into building parking facilities for it.**

***The Agency has made unauthorized commitments to provide parking for planned developments in the State Street area.**

***The Ring Road, supposedly long dead, showed up on maps at the hearing.**

The controversial State Street Redevelopment Plan was originally approved by the Board of Aldermen on April 11, 1968. They voted for a government center, an arts center, new office and retail construction, and a divided highway and parking garage on State Street. However, after much citizen protest, the Board decided to restrict the parking garage to the area between Chapel and Fair Streets. It is this amendment that the Redevelopment Agency is trying to get reversed.

At the November 26 hearing, before the State Street Garage plan came before the Board, two hours were spent considering five or six other items that were on the agenda. One of the earlier items dealt with a project in the Dixwell area. The Agency presented its description of the project on a map which included the nonexistent and unplanned Ring Road. The Ring Road was to connect the Trumbull exit of I-91 to the extension of Route 34. Under questioning, Mel Adams noted that "one of the benefits of the war in Vietnam is that there is no longer money available to build the Ring Road." The "Ring Road is dead" according to Mel Adams, the City Redevelopment Administrator. (See testimony by David Dickson, page 4, for some of the reasons why this statement must be viewed with caution.)

Two other items dealt with prospective developers in the State Street area. Under cross questioning from Alderman Bill Rees and the floor, the Agency was forced to admit that the developers had not been fully informed that the Agency's plan for a parking garage in the area had not been approved by the Board of Aldermen. They had also not been informed that, if the garage were not approved, the developers, under the city's zoning code, would have to provide parking at their own expense. In effect the Agency was trying to sneak through approval of the State Street garage by including in the Land Disposition Agreement (deed of sale) a commitment by the city to provide parking. It was pointed out that there is nothing in the present State Street Plan which commits the city to provide parking.

Legality Irrelevant?

When the State Street Plan Amendment finally did come up at 10 p.m. many people who had planned to testify had already left. Alderman Bill Rees and Attorney Ken Kreiling questioned the legality of discussing the State Street plan at this hearing. They claimed that Chuck Shannon, Director of the Redevelopment Agency, had sent its plan amendment to the Board of Aldermen before the Redevelopment Agency Board had officially approved the plan. Thus, there was no legal proposal before the Board.

Chairman Falcigno simply ruled the matter out of order and ordered the hearing to proceed. This was a classic example of a politician's indifference to "law and order" when applied to his own kind. The Agency is desperate to have the present lame duck Board of Aldermen vote on their garage, since the incoming board is unlikely to approve the plan.

As testimony proceeded, it became clear that, except for city officials, an overwhelming majority of the 200 people present were opposed to the plan. They opposed it because of the pollution and congestion it would cause, because of the Agency's continued neglect of housing and mass transit needs in New Haven and because of the destruction of small business in favor of big business.

Witch Hunt?

David Dickson, testifying for AIM, disclosed that the Agency has collected a *detailed dossier* on everyone who has testified against the State Street Plan. The dossier contains name, address, occupation, information on the person's spouse, and then goes on to give political affiliation and the Agency staff's opinion of why that person testified against the garage. At the hearing, Chuck Shannon admitted to reporters that he had ordered "a list to be made of all those persons who were at the public hearing" (**Journal-Courier**, Dec.4). However, when a **Journal Courier** reporter questioned him later, Shannon replied that he "definitely decided" not to make the list public and that "as far as I'm concerned that's a non-existent list."

This dossier cannot be dismissed that easily. Is this the beginning of a low-keyed witch hunt on the part of the Agency? It is clearly the Agency's policy to attempt, by any means possible, to discredit individuals by insinuation rather than to debate issues publically. For example, John Cavalerro, the city's Director of Traffic and Parking, asnwered Harriet Johnson's charge that the city was neglecting mass transit with the remark, "Mrs. Harriet Johnson was seen driving downtown in an automobile". He did not reveal her destination, nor did he explain what on earth that had to do with his Department's negligence of mass transit.

Secrecy by the Clock

One of the most important items on the agenda received almost no advance publicity and was held back until the very end of the hearing—until precisely 12:15 in the morning, when only four people and a handful of Redevelopment Agency employees were still present. This item was the Agency's presentation of a proposed Land Disposition Agreement (deed of sale) between New Haven and the New Haven Savings Bank, which has plans for a new bank and office building at the corner of Church and Elm Streets.

This document, written in heavy legal jargon, was translated for the benefit of all present by attorney and former Alderman Alan Lessler. Lessler is now employed by the Agency. One of the key clauses in this document commits the City to provide *adequate parking* for the Bank as well as its tenants and employees. In other words, it commits the city and its tax payers to support the bank by building it a parking garage.

This part of the hearing was a perfect example of how both our country and city are run—subsidies and tax breaks for the banks and big business, but free enterprise and heavy taxation for the rest of us.

The bank's spokesman openly states that *its six million dollar building will not be built unless the City provides the parking.* The Agency wants to do this by building the half-mile long State Street Garage. Despite the fact that all other banks in New Haven provide their own parking, the New Haven Savings Bank refuses to consider simply adding one or two levels of basement parking under its building at their own expense.

The reason that this part of the hearing was kept to the very end is obvious. This is not a very subtle form of blackmail. The Bank is well aware that a year and a half ago the elected representatives of the people of New Haven rejected the Agency's proposal to build the 5000 car State Street garage. Yet, during this time the bank has gone ahead, with the open approval of the Redevelopment Agency and Mel Adams, and planned a development and investment that assumes the presence of the garage. This chearly shows for whose benefit New Haven is being redeveloped.

In the Redevelopment Game it's big business vs. the people. The city government, the supposed protection of the people, is solidly on the side of big business.

State Street: Plan for Disaster

Testimony at the Public Hearing before the Urban Development Committee of the Board of Aldermen on the State Street Project Plan Amendments. Wednesday, Novmeber 26, 1969—Thanksgiving Eve. (David Dickson on behalf of AIM)

On November 7, Stanley Rodgers, a black union leader and the newest member of the Redevelopment Agency Board, became the first Board Member ever to publicly criticize an urban renewal plan. Mr. Rodgers stated five objections, the same objections testified to again and again by community people at the Redevelopment Agency's public hearing on the plan on October 23. Mr. Rodgers cited: air pollution; the effects on Friendship Housing; and the need for mass transit, jobs, and housing as arguments against the garage. He also criticized the Agency for subsidizing the New Haven Savings Bank and for making a mockery of the democratic process by restoring the garage after it had been vigorously rejected by both the people and the aldermen.

Last week, however, Mr. Rodgers changed his mind and announced his support for the garage. Mr. Charles Shannon had said that there would be 2000 jobs in the New Haven Savings Bank building and the Federal building. Mr. Rodgers emphasized that black people would have a chance for these jobs and that the jobs would go elsewhere if the garage is not built. Mr. Rodgers also repeated Shannon's claim that the $250,000 in taxes paid by the new buildings would lighten the burden on the hard-pressed taxpayer.

Mr. Shannon is again responsible for misguiding the people. In a last minute effort to get this garage, he neglects to mention that 1000 of these jobs will be in the Federal Building. Many of these jobs already exist in New Haven, and others will be filled from the Civil Service. Many of the jobs in the New Haven Savings Bank building will be bank jobs already filled by professional and business people who will move from other offices in New Haven to the new one. Many will be jobs dislocated out of buildings that will be demolished for the new project. The memo also neglects to mention that over 300 businesses, with over a thousand employees, have been or will be kicked out of the State Street area to make way for the new project. Mr. Shannon: What is the net number of *new* jobs in this plan? And is $250,000 a *net* increase in taxes from this area? I doubt it! *The Redevelopment Agency has stifled Mr. Rodgers' dissent by cynically exploiting his commitment to increased black employment!*

Air Pollution

Mr. Shannon has attempted to answer the other objections to this garage in a similar, deceiftul fashion. Mr. Shannon claims a decrease in air pollution in New Haven over the past two years. He neglects to mention that this laudable decrease is in particulate matter (soot and dirt) and sulfur dioxide, not in pollutants such as carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons, which come from cars. Shannon also stated that carbon monoxide tests made at the Truman Street School in 1968 and 1969 show that automobile air pollution is not a serious problem. However, data from the city Bureau of Environmental Health indicates that the State Street area has three times the traffic density that the Truman School area has.

If they wanted to measure air pollution at a school, why didn't they do it a Conte School which is right next to I-91 and a mere quarter of a mile from the Waterside Interchange? If the six-lanes of highway and garage are built, Wooster Square will be completely surrounded by highways. Standing in the middle of Wooster Square itself, you will be less than 1000 feet from I-91, I-95, and the State Street Highway and Garage.

The Agency is an obvious friend of the automobile manufacturers. It has served them well by providing highways and garages to support the growing suburbanization of America. The Agency suggests that we trust the giant automobile and oil corporations to clean up their machines and their fuels and, thereby, the air. Do you know that both the city of Los Angeles and the city of Chicago have taken the automobile manufacturers to court for "conspiracy to delay the development of air-pollution devices?" *What is good for General Motors is not good for America!*

Mass Transit

The Redevelopment Agency claims to be concerned with mass transportation but has not made any study of the situation to date. Mr. Shannon does refer to a study made by the General Research Corporation of Santa Barbara, California, which studied New Haven and three other cities. He quotes one of the conclusions: "For smaller cities such as New Haven, personal transit (small, electrically-propelled vehicles running on an automated network of tracks) looks less attractive. It appears that a personal transit system, as well as *rail* rapid transit, would be too costly for cities with a population of less than half a million." This quote reveals nothing of what the study said about improved bus systems running on the city streets, which is probab probably the most promising mode for New Haven. Mr. Shannon—what about buses?

When the Board of Aldermen approved this plan (minus the garage) 18 months ago, they ordered the Agency to study and construct a mass transportation center in the Chapel and State Street area. In the amendment submitted by the Agency, one month ago, no mention of this item can be found. This idea has become even more relevant since the Division of Long-Range Planning of the Connecticut Highway Department reports that the New York transit system may be extended to New Haven. In his memorandum to the Redevelopment Agency Board, Shannon mentions that a consultant firm is looking into a mass transit center on air-rights over the Penn Central Railroad. Mr. Shannon—it has been over 18 months since the Board of Aldermen directed you to investigate this idea—*Why haven't you done it?*

The Redevelopment Agency claims that mass transit will not eliminate the need for garages. We agree. But these garages should not be downtown. The construction of peripheral parking garages will not only keep cars out of downtown New Haven, but will also strengthen the mass transportation system by guaranteeing riders on radial bus lines. The Agency claims that peripheral parking has been tried and has failed. This is a false argument. It is not yet impossible to find a downtown parking space. But it will be soon, whether this garage is built or not, and we all know it. The State Highway Department calls the inevitable saturation point of automobile traffic "the intolerability level". The sooner we reach it, the sooner we will be forced to develop mass transit. The State Highway Department planners have told us that every new garage and downtown highway postpones the "intolerability level" a little bit longer. This is what passes for planning in New Haven.

Peripheral parking will *not* work until it is impossible to park downtown. We all know that will happen eventually. We think you should accept that enevitability and plan for it *now.* The State Highway Department is beginning to recognize this now. The Division of Long Range Planning has published a study called "Transportation in Connecticut, 2020". In this report, they call for the construction of peripheral parking areas, connected to the central city by mass transit. In the New Haven area alone, they anticipate seven peripheral parking areas to be built between 1970-1980. Gentlemen, 1970 is only five weeks away; but the Agency's own statements say this garage will not be completed by 1980. So who's kidding whom anyway?

Big Business vs. Small Business

AIM has said that the New Haven Savings Bank is being subsidized by the taxpayers of New Haven who are providing the garage for the bank. The Agency has replied that "The parking garage is *not* being built for the bank. ...The bank only wants to be assured of the availability of parking." We find these two sentences contradictory. Need I say more?

And what of the small businesses that supposedly can move into the lower level of the garage. Where are they now? Where are the more than 300 small businesses that existed in the State Street Plan area before the plan was announced? Even if these small businesses could afford the new space, which is highly unlikely, what are they to do in the meantime? Go out of business for five years and then return? Take a long vacation to Florida? Anyone who walks on Chapel Street these days will find at least four new businesses that have opened in the last few weeks. The same is true on State Street—the side that is not yet planned for renewal. All these businesses (Bread and Roses Coffeehouse, etc.) located where they did because it was *not* a renewal area, and they could thus afford the going rents.

Last year the Board of Aldermen told the Agency to develop alternatives to the proposed State Street plan they rejected. But as far as anyone can tell the Agency has not responded to this directive. Mr. Shannon has stated that only one-story buildings surrounded by parking lots can be built on State Street under the Board of Aldermen's amendment to the original plan. *Why?* We'd like some clarification. Certainly the zoning could be

changed in that area. Many things are possible, but the Agency claims it is limited to the most strict zoning restrictions. Again, who's kidding whom? The Agency refuses to answer the objections of the people and to carry out the directives of the Board of Aldermen, the elected representatives of the people.

The Poorly-Planned City

As we have tried to show in the above remarks, most of the arguments that the Agency has used to support the garage proposal are based on a selective presentation of the data and a highly biased approach to the alternatives. Unfortunately, this is the reality of planning in New Haven. In short, the city of New Haven, despite all the ballyhoo and good press, *is not a city city planned for the people.*

Last week I visited the Redevelopment Agency for some information, and I accidentally discovered one of the things they spend their time on over there, instead of planning the city. rationally. I saw part of a list of all the people who testified against this garage amendment at the public hearing on October 23. Besides names and addresses, the list gave the occupation of the testifier and of his or her wife or husband. It also listed the political affiliation and possible motivation for testifying against the plan. I shall give three samples that I can remember:

James Vastola, address, taxi driver, member of Liberty Party
Kitty Batista, address, husband's occupation, "...this seems to be a move against the DeLauros in Wooster Sq."
Liz Rose, address, wife of Peter Rose who teaches at Yale, member of AIM

This is not a list. This is a *dossier* and I, and everyone else here, would like to know from Mr. Adams or Mr. Shannon what business the Redevelopment Agency has compiling such information on the citizens of New Haven?

There is one more major planning decision I would like to consider. The city of New Haven is committed to a massive highway building effort to move the suburbanites in and out of town at fastest possible rate. The divided six-lane highway planned for State Street is only one part of a highway complex which is gradually strangling and poisoning New Haven.

In fact, the proposed State Street is one lag of the notorious Ring Road. The city has requested the State Highway Department to build ramps connecting State Street to the Oak Street Connector. The State Highway Department has refused. The tide is turning. We maintain that without these ramps there is no need for such a massive State Street. We propose instead a two-way, four-lane State Street. Conditions have changed since the the Aldermen voted down a four-lane road by a vote of 14-13. I urge this committee ro reconsider the road as well as the garage and make a step toward a rational city.

Someone will undoubtedly get up after me and say: "*The Ring Road is dead.*" Well, let me add a few items that would lead one to conclude just the opposite, despite Agency protestations:

1. On February 22, 1968, nearly one year ago, the Redevelopment Agency declared that it will amend the Dixwell Renewal Plan "to delete the authority we got in 1960 to build the Ring Road in that area." *This has not been done.*
2. Yale University is presently holding a competition for the design of a new mathematics building on Hillhouse Avenue. The new building is restricted on the north side by a diagonal line which falls exactly on the edge of the Ring Road route.
3. Columbus Avenue, as it passes through the new Church Street South housing development, has been widened to accomodate six lanes and a divider. This project began construction one year ago.
4. The Board of Aldermen directed the city to reduce the proposed six-lane Howe Street bridge over the proposed Route 34. So far the bridge remains six lanes wide in the Dwight Renewal Plan.

In short, there is no evidence that the Agency has given up its dreams for a loop around downtown New Haven. Verbal denials are not enough. That also reminds me—the Board of Aldermen directed the city to close the Trumbull Street ramp, the gateway to the Ring Road. A bill to this effect was submitted to the Roads and Bridges Committee of the State Legislature last spring. The City of New Haven did not testify for this bill, even though you, as the Board of Aldermen, had passed a similar bill.

A City for People

The time is long since passed since the people should have been planning the city of New Haven. The elite technocrats have had their chance, and they blew it. Now the people must get together with their elected representatives and substitute a new vision for the discredited urban renewal and highway programs.

We are at a turning point. We have two choices: we can plunge deeper into the morass of highways, parking garages, and suburbanization, or we can turn around and plan our city for a new age. It is clear, even to the Shate Highway Department that the days of the automobile and highway as we know it are numbered. It is clear to everyone that yet another garage will not solve the city's problems. The suburbanization of the entire country is being questioned. Can the city begin to provide an alternative to suburban life? A city that is alive day and night. A city that encourages diversity of life-style instead of homogenized, plastic-split-level, two-cars-in-the-garage nuclear family life. A city for people, not cars. A city where people can *live* and not commute in and out of. A city where people can breathe. A city where new approaches to politics and the reality of living together can develop and, perhaps, lead American out of its accelerating decline. A city that is planned for the pleasure of many, not just the profit of a few corporations and the bureaucrats who run the city for them.

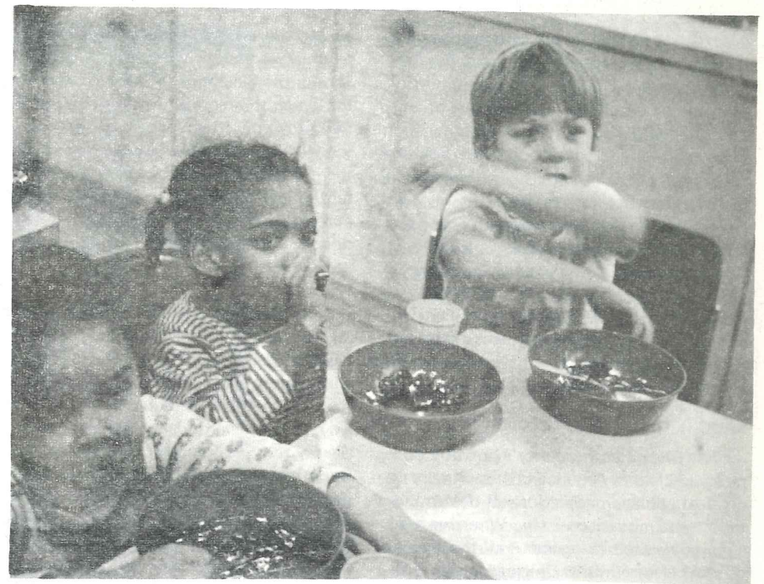
Many people today are moving toward change. Young people, too young to vote for their representatives, are voting against suburbia with their feet. But what they find in the city may well send them into another cycle of despair. They care, we care, you care—about our whole environment. The air, the water, the soil, the buildings, streets, schools, housing, and all the parts that make up the setting for our lives. Things are going to change—we all know that. The old ways have not done the job. Traditional means of planning have failed.

We have testified many times against this garage. We have leafletted, petitioned, talked to our friends and neighbors, worked on legislation, written our representatives, worked on electoral campaigns, voted. *For what?* The Board of Aldermen voted this plan down and the Redevelopment Agency brought it back to life. Who runs this town anyway? Let's give this town back to its rightful owners, *we the people.* It has been too long under the disastrous stewardship of tired, old, ultra-experienced experts. Let's turn the city back to those with real vision of an environment responsive to the needs of the people.

NEW HAVEN PANTHER SPEAKS OUT

Interview with New Haven Black Panther Party Lieutenant of Information, Cappy Pinderhughes.

by Joan Vermeulen



New Haven children enjoy their free breakfast. A new center at 35 Market St. will open on January 12.

What response have you gotten to the Ministry of Information Bulletin and other Black Panther Party literature?

Direct contact work is over 10,000 people. A lot of the leaflets have been left in mailboxes or in doorways, and a lot of people are spoken to in the street about the situation of the Black Panther Party in New Haven and about their misconceptions concerning the Black Panther Party. In some form, this will be continued after the trial. The political situation at that time most likely would determine that.

We consider the newsletter to be a very successful approach to reaching large numbers of people in the community about the trial and about what the Black Panther Party really stands for. Response has been very good. As a matter of fact, we found that some people have called us from the project areas out a little bit from the center of New Haven and asked how they can get their own copies of the bulletin.

What is your support in the community?

The Black Panther Party feels it has a great deal of community support right now and has moved a great distance in the past few months. When we first arrived, the propaganda that had been put out by Ahern had been pretty successful since the Black Panther Party had been almost destroyed here, and there were no people to really work hard to counter the lies that had been spread by the structure and especially leaked by Ahern's department. Since that time, since August, we've moved a long way. Children from the community come home from school yelling, "All power to the people" and greeting us on the streets very warmly.

All the people in the community recognize who we are and greet us warmly and come to us many times with their problems. People have been giving us a lot of help lately with handing out materials in the community. Any time we have a well-publicized rally several hundred people usually show up.

Could you describe your breakfast for children program?

The Breakfast Program for Children is located at 79 Shelton Ave., at the Newhallville Teen Lounge. Average attendance is about 70 to 80 kids every day, Monday through Friday. We had a second breakfast program at the Hill Teen Lounge, but, after having several fires in the old stove there, we decided to combine it with the Newhallville program until we can get access to better facilities. Transportation is available to all children inside New Haven. We are planning as well to expand into a breakfast program in Fair Haven in the near future.

We usually have a large amount of community help showing up during the course of the program. Children of all ages come to the program, from those who are two or three years old who come with their parents, all the way up through high school students who help us with the breakfast program serving the children. We have both poor white and poor black children, although the vast majority of the children are black because the Black Panther Party has been organizing primarily in the black sections of the city.

Pig Ahern, chief of police in New Haven, tried to stifle the Breakfast Program a few months ago. When he found out that we were about to start it, he went on TV and said that he had heard that the Black Panthers were about to start extorting money from merchants and that he would not allow this to go on by any means. This has cut into our ability to get donations from merchants greatly. Many of them close their minds and their doors to us before we get a chance to talk to them about many of the children who come to us who aren't always able to get enough to eat for breakfast otherwise. We have counteracted this some and at the present are getting some donations of various kinds of foods; however, we are not getting near enough to support the breakfast program at all. As a matter of fact, most of our food is still purchased, and this prevents us from expanding as quickly as we would like to.

The Free Breakfast for Children Program is a national program in the Black Panther Party. It is going on in almost every city in which there is a Black Panther Party. We are feeding probably about 60,000 children by now, all over the country. In

"Racism has been a tool with which to divide working people..."

many areas, people of the community have taken up the example of the Black Panther Party and started up their own community breakfasts, completely independent of any sponsorship or help by the Party other than supervisory advice. Raids on Black Panther offices across the country have hindered the breakfast program to some extent. In almost every case where offices have been broken into, in places such as Chicago, Denver, Kansas City, Sacramento, and so on, in all these places, money for the breakfast program has been stolen by the pigs, and any food or utensils or other materials for the breakfast program have been wrecked and totally destroyed.

What is the cause of racism in America?

The Black Panther Party's position on race and class in America is this: we are organizing black people for self-determination in the mother country. When we say colony, we are talking about all those areas of black communities which are dealt with economically essentially as islands that can be exploited, like in the Caribbean. And, therefore, we relate to the analysis that black people are colonized people within the confines of America. We further say that racism has been used to benefit capitalism and has been used to perpetuate it. We feel that racism has been a tool with which to divide working people from the masses of people in America and set them at each other's throats, with the idea that the other group is responsible for their own economic plight and situation. That's why we say that, if you check out the situation in the South, the most racist person is the poor white. He's blaming all of his problems on the niggers. On the other hand, you check out who's been telling him this, you find out it's the plantation owners that have been screwing both the black people and those poor whites. Now the black people are being screwed a little bit more, and that's where we say this racism comes in. It's also like paying two factory workers, the white one $6 and the black one $4, doing the same work for which the factory owner's making about $40 profit on. Both people are getting screwed, and the only reason they pay them different wages is to take their attention off how much profit their boss is making and focus it on how much better or how much worse they're doing towards each other.

The Black Panther Party judges people on the basis of their actions, not on the basis of their race. Therefore, we work with anyone who is willing to organize their own people, and, in a revolutionary way, move toward justice for all people. We say that we stand for proletarian internationalism. By uniting with all oppressed peoples all across the country and across the world, you defeat such monsters as the United States and European imperialism and capitalism. We realize that race is a significant problem, a significant contradiction in American life. But we say that capitalism is the primary contradiction. After all, how did racism come to be? It was a creation, a justification, of capitalism.

The Black Panther Party has been making coalitions across the country on the basis of similar revolutionary aims with other groups. We have an alliance in Chicago, called the Rainbow Coalition, with the Young Patriots, formerly a poor white gang from Appalachia, which is presently organizing its own people along the same lines of the Black Panther Party and sponsoring breakfast programs in their own communities, and so on, and with the Young Lords, formerly a Puerto Rican gang along the same lines, which is at present trying to go national. It has major chapters now in New York City, and it's ready to expand to other parts of the country. The Young Lords have also sponsored such programs as the breakfast program and are moving in other ways to deal with racism and oppression. We are saying that in order to defeat racism you have to fight racism with people solidarity. People getting together to define their own situation and act accordingly, and, if those people choose to come together, then so be it, we act on that basis.

What about fascism in America?

America is definitely entering a new fascist phase in its history. This is a phase of open fascism. America has been a fascist state all along. Just check out what's been happening to Indians, what happened to the Japanese during World War II. A new type of fascism is fast reaching the scene. The American brand of fascism with the new fascist symbols of the American eagle and the American flag is slowly being developed by the Rockefellers, Olins, Mellons, the rich 200 families that control the society. We are reaching fascism now because the control of the society by peaceful—so-called peaceful—means, by discreet and subtle manipulation, is no longer possible. The oppressed peoples of all colors are too insurgent.

The Black Panther Party in particular has been the victim of many acts of fascism in recent months. From trial frame-ups to the appalling treatment of Chairman Bobby Seale to the nation-wide attacks against the Black Panther Party in the form of police raids on the party offices. We have to understand, however, that fascism needs some time to develop fully. We are not yet in an open fascist state. The trial of the New Haven Panthers is one such example of fascism where you have a judge who's trying to play a slightly more subtle role than Judge Hoffman did in Chicago. The judge has declared that all people are to be searched before entering the court room, with Panthers being especially hassled in that manner. But we feel that we can change the situation that the trial is in and mobilize enough community support and support throughout the East Coast to the point where we get the courts to set the New Haven Panthers free. We can expose the courts for what they are—only an appendix to an already smooth-working machine on the verge of fascism.

The incidents of this week (Dec. 1) have clarified the strategy of the pigs. It should be noted that a police bust earlier this week was prevented only by a great deal of publicity put out quickly by the Black Panther Party, including the calling of a press conference and leafletting of the community. The police bust was coincidental with the testimony of so-called prosecution witnesses, George Sams, who we discovered to be a police agent in July of this year, and Loretta Luckes and Jean Wilson, who have both been held, as far as we know, in solitary confinement for the past six months, without having any contact with the Panthers and, to the best of my knowledge, no contact with the rest of the prison population either. Therefore, right after the testimony of these people, a bust of the Black Panther Party in New Haven to wipe out all the leadership in this area once again, just as it was plotted and successfully carried out last May, was planned. This would have been a very opportune time for Ahern to have moved. We feel that we have at least temporarily stopped him from these treacherous attacks.

We should also take note of the fact that much material that was not admissible in a regular jury court as legal evidence was presented here. Material such as the tape recordings and so on. These items were used in the bail hearings, and a great deal of publicity was made from them. Still, the setbacks propaganda-wise have not really been what they were last May, and we feel that, with continued work by the People's Committee to Free the Panthers and our own work in the black community, which was affected very little by much of the trial publicity, by continuing to work in these ways, we will be able to correct much of the misinformation which has been blatantly spread around New Haven about the Black Panther Party and about the trial and about the Panthers who have been imprisoned without bail for the last six months.

DAVID HILLIARD BAIL FUND

David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, is now being held in a San Francisco, California, jail on $50,000 bail for comments about President Nixon in a recent speeck. All bail bondsmenthave refused to cooperate, therefore the Black Panther Party must raise the full $50,000. The only way to raise this amount is for everyone to help. Send a dollar to the National Headquarters, Black Panther Party, 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif. If everyone did this, Hilliard would be free in a few days.

"You have to fight racism with people solidarity."

War

On December 4, Chicago police raided the West Side headquarters of the Black Panther Party. Illinois Party Chairman Fred Hampton and another Panther were killed.

Papers all over the country carried big stories about how the Panthers and the Chicago police had had a "shoot-out" the day Fred Hampton was murdered last week. But autopsy and investigation show that he was lying down when the bullets entered his head and that the only bullet holes in Panther headquarters were by his bed. This indicates that Fred Hampton was murdered in cold blood by police.

On December 8, 300 police used tear gas, dynamite and machine guns in a five-hour siege on Black Panther Party headquarters in Los Angeles. Three policemen were injured, two Panthers wounded.

On December 16...or 20? The list of violent confrontations between Panthers and police is long and growing longer. It almost seems as if a war has been declared. But if it is war, who declared it and why?

Police Declare War

Newspapers offer no explanation of the origins and meaning of this war. Each new raid or shooting or arrest that involves Black Panthers is described by the press in the cool, "objective" tone used for all the violence that makes up so much of our news. A lot of attention is given to weapons and injuries. And then the police—never the Panthers—are asked to account for the episode.

These confrontations, or at least press coverage of them, say that there is something in the nature of the Black Panther Party that leads to such violence. This article—a brief look at the nature and history of the Black Panther Party—is an attempt to supply what is missing in newspaper stories about the battles in Los Angeles or Chicago.

War may have been declared. But there is evidence that it is not the Black Panther Party which is the aggressor.

A history of the Black Panther Party must start with the reminder that police brutality has long been, and still is, a fact of life in American ghettos. For people who have not experienced it, this continuing brutality may be hard to conceive of. But because it is so real for blacks in the ghettos, the Panthers' concern with police treatment of black people is perhaps their most important characteristic. Every issue of the **Black Panther**, the Party's paper, contains accounts of incidents that help explain why black people are angry. Every incident of police brutality aids Panther recruiting.

It was their dismay at the black community's disorganization and helplessness in the face of daily police harassment that

Against

prompted Huey Newton and Bobby Seale to start the Black Panther Party. And from the first, this was the issue Newton and Seale used to organize brothers off the block. Their message was simple: "We're not going to let them push us around any more."

The Panthers' first move was to buy guns and begin patrolling the Oakland ghetto. It was legal in California in 1966 to carry unconcealed weapons; and the Panthers were careful to do nothing illegal. They followed police at a distance, informing any person the police stopped of his constitutional rights. (Huey Newton had been to law school). Police harassment of Oakland blacks declined, but harassment of known Panthers began.

The

The Black Panther Party's emphasis on police may be a key to understanding their impact and their current troubles. But it is not all the Panthers are about. When Newton and Seale founded the party in October 1966, they were setting out to organize a mass movement that could bring basic change to this country. They had in mind not only their own personal experiences and observations in the ghetto but also the ideas of Frantz Fanon and Malcolm X. They demanded a chance for black people to determine their own destiny.

Basic Panther Platform

Three basic beliefs underlie Black Panther Party programs and organizing:

1. Black people in this white-controlled society have been and continue to be segregated, brutalized, and exploited. They are denied full humanity because they are denied control over all important aspects of their lives. They are thus unfree in much the same way as colonial subjects are unfree. American ghettos can be compared to colonies oppressed by foreign countries.

2. This racist subjugation of black people has become so closely bound up in our present economic and political institutions that we can end racism only by making very great changes in these dominant institutions.

3. Our economic and political system will probably not yield to such drastic changes without violence.

These ideas show why the Panthers talk about police as if they were agents of a foreign government, occupying black areas. Police control is only one way that the Panthers see black people being denied self-determination. Imposed inferiority makes blacks economically helpless: they are hired last and paid least. And their helplessness means they continue to be exploited.

Common Cause of All

But the Panthers know that racism is only one kind of exploitation. They stress that they have common cause with all people, all over the world, who are oppressed. Because the American capitalistic economic system depends on one man's controlling and making money from another man's labor, a lot of people have their basic conditions of life controlled by people who are richer and more powerful than they are. There is exploitation of whites as well as blacks; and there is exploitation *by* blacks as well as whites.

The Panthers believe that a socialist organization of the economy would give the people who actually do the work control over decisions about what is produced and who produces it under what conditions. They see this as a form of organized sharing that could correct the grave injustices which characterize our society now. But socialism will not *necessarily* bring an end to racism. We have to work for both changes at the same time.

Panthers

The Black Panther Party is revolutionary because these changes that it sees as necessary are massive. People and institutions naturally resist drastic changes, and this resistance often leads to violence. But it is important that the Panthers believe in revolution by force only if peaceful alternatives are impossible. In effect, they are

Special Supplement

Black Panther Party in New Haven

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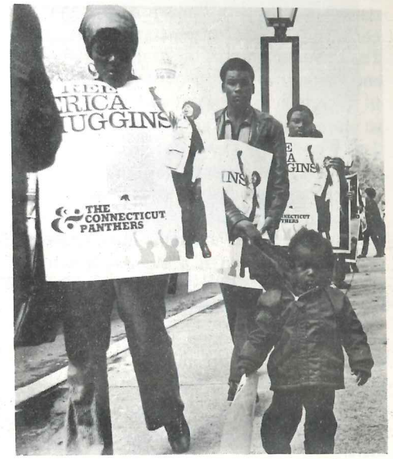


Panther Bail Hearings
Prosecution Case Shaky

Bail hearings for five of the 14 Black Panthers arrested in the Rackley case ended December 5. The decision on bail has not yet been announced, but it is clear that the hearings were just another chance for the state to publicize its trumped-up "evidence" against the Panther group, which includes national chairman Bobby Seale. Even bail hearings can be used to pollute the public mind about the Panthers.

While the defense had to reserve its case for the trial, the prosecution had a field-day. They used the hearings to get a lot of shaky testimony on the record—like witnesses forced to testify and evidence illegally acquired. But if the state's case sounded shaky in court, it went over beautifully in the papers. The **Register** didn't see any of the obvious doubts or contradictions: it made the prosecution into front-page gospel.

Chief among the dubious evidence were two tape recordings. The defense argued that the tapes were inadmissable because identification of voices on tape is very unreliable, also because the tapes were illegally seized without a search warrant. But Judge Aaron Palmer wanted to hear the tapes whether they were illegal evidence or not.

The papers always describe these tapes as explicit recordings of a torture-trial. Actually, they turn out to be pretty vague and dubious. One tape begins, "My name is Ericka Huggins"—it is supposed to be an interrogation of Alex Rackley. The prosecution never explained why Ericka Huggins would have named herself. It also didn't explain why, if it really was Rackley being questioned, there were no indications that he had been tortured, or that he was afraid for his life.

The Panthers state that the tapes are phony. They also say that Rackley was a loyal member of the Black Panthers and he was murdered by the police. Certainly the tapes are pretty shaky eveidnce; but the prosecution and the **Register** seem to think that people will believe any lie about the Panthers, no matter how crazy it sounds.

The newspapers also made a big splash about three of the Panthers pleading guilty. A closer look shows this is just some more official propaganda.

The three are Loretta Luckes, George Sams, and Jeannie Wilson. Luckes is from Bridgeport and was a Panther for just a short time before her arrest. For the last sic months she's been in solitary confinement. The Panthers do not know if she was an agent or was just intimidated in jail. At this time she is 8 months pregnant. Sams was denounced this summer as a police agent by Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver. He is the prosecution's star witness—his testimony is the only excuse the state has for dragging Bobby Seale into this charge. So his guilty plea was no big surprise. The big surprise was that Sams didn't testify at the bail hearings. Maybe the prosecution is saving him for the trial, and maybe thay were afraid he wouldn't stand up to cross-examination.

Cont. next page

Bail Hearings

Continued from first page

Jeannie Wilson was one of two juveniles called on to testify. The other girl, Maude Francis, refused to testify. The prosecution and the judge applied pressure by arguing that her testimony "is necessary for the public interest." Francis was charged with contempt of court, despite her defense's argument that it is against the constitution to force someone to testify. The contempt charge was dropped later, and Francis was sent back to wait in jail until she agrees to testify. Jeannie Wilson also refused to testify at first, but later decided to turn state's evidence. Her testimony, given in a night court session (maybe the state was afraid she'd change her mind again by the next day), was confused and contradictory. For example, she described events as happening on a Monday which the police say happened on Tuesday. She didn't mention any torture-trial or murder.

As the hearing ended, the state had proven nothing about the murder. But because the defense couldn't come out with its case, all it added up to was some more biased and sensationalized stories about the Panthers.

Meanwhile, as the state worries about the growing community support for the Panthers, the local party continues working despite the threat of another pig arrest. According to a local party spokesman:

"On the afternoon of December 2, the New Haven Panther Party learned that the FBI, together with the local pigs and U.S. marshals, were planning to bust all *the Panthers now organizing in New Haven....The pigs will probably use a search warrant for a 'fugitive' or for 'illegal weapons' to legalize their raid."*

Commenting on the party work in New Haven, the spokesman said,

"Last May the pigs busted the 10 New Haven area Panthers now in jail on the trumped-up charge of murdering a fellow Panther. The pigs stopped the Black Panther Party from functioning in New Haven by busting all the strongest people here. And now they are trying to stop us again. Since August we have built the Party up again here and have been working hard in many ways to free the New Haven Panthers and to free the people. Along with such things as the breakfast programs, we have done lots of political work in the community.... As long as there are Black Panthers, as long as there are black people, there will be a Black Panther Party."

COMMENT

NATION-WIDE REPRESSION OF PANTHERS:

Fascism at Work?

by Mike Sand

There are two histories of the Black Panther Party: the lies we get daily in the papers about how crazy the Panthers are—and the real story of the murderous repression of the Panthers. That story the papers won't tell us.

That story is one of mounting horror. It is a story of systematic terrorism, spread by both lies and guns. It means 28 Panthers murdered by the police since January 1968, countless others beaten, homes and offices wrecked and looted, friends, families and supporters threatened and harassed. It means midnight arrests, illegal searches and seizures, false arrests and paranoid charges. It has also meant a campaign of distortion in all newsmedia to terrorize the rest of us— lies to make us believe the Panthers hate whites, kill cops and plan to blow up the country. It shows a government so hysterically afraid of one radical organization that it accepts, and wants us to accept, any brutality and crime against them.

From the frame-up of Huey Newton in October 1967 — (Newton, unarmed except for a law book, is supposed to have killed a policeman with his own gun after being wounded in the stomach) — to the murder of Fred Hampton last week in a "shoot out"— (Hampton's autopsy showed he was killed while lying down, and his room had no bulletholes except from police guns above his bed) — the real story shows nothing but murder and mayhem by the police. This real story shows wholesale destruction masked by dirty contemptible lies. And it shows our government, from Agnew and Mitchell and Hoover on down to our local sheriffs and police chiefs, grabbing at any weapon to destroy the Panthers.

Now the courts have become one of these weapons. The Panthers are being framed on charges like murder here in New Haven, or on phony conspiracies, like in Chicago and New York (where the Panthers are supposed to have conspired to blow up the Bronx Botanical Gardens!). We like to expect fair treatment from our courts, but after the actions in Chicago and right here, that hope seems foolish.

A fair trial for the Panthers in New Haven has become so impossible, it's hard to believe it was ever intended. Beginning with the day of their arrest, the Panthers have been treated as convicted criminals. With "leaks" of "information" from the police, with accusations passing for facts, the trial of the Panthers has already taken place — in the **Register** with testimony only from the prosecution. Since that time, the Panthers have been denied their constitutional rights to bail. They have been kept away from their lawyers, all other visitors and each other. The preparation of adequate defense has been made impossible. They have been treated more brutally, especially the pregnant women, than is usual even with condemned convicts. Finally, when the community had begun to express its support, Judge Aaron Palmer came up with a court order which pretends to be working for a "fair trial"— kind of late — but which is only further harassing the defense.

According to this court order, no demonstrations are allowed within 500 feet of the courtroom, so people can't show their support of the Panthers in court. No one close to the defense is allowed to make public statements about the trial. This gag rule makes it very hard to offset the flood of bad publicity already in the average reader's mind. Photography and even sketching are forbidden in court — after the tremendous effect of seeing even a sketch of Bobby Seale bound and gagged. No one can enter the courtroom without being searched. This is an attempt to intimidate people who support the Panthers. THIS COURT ORDER, IN THE INTERESTS OF "FAIR TRIAL," WAS ISSUED WITHOUT EVEN CONSULTING THE DEFENSE! — and is therefore unconstitutional.

As an example of how this court order is used against the Panthers , when the Coalition to Defend the Panthers went to speak to the Connecticut State Attorney, Arnold Markle, about arranging bail for the Panthers, Markle used the court order as an excuse not to talk to them!

Fascism is not a word to be used lightly. But calling the state oppression of the Panthers "fascist" isn't name-calling — it's factual description. What else can we call systematic destruction by stormtrooper police tactics. What else can we call deliberate falsifications by the newspapers? What else can we call rigged state trials? What else can we call the hysteria and terror which our government is breeding?

challenging America to live up to American ideals.

Panthers and "Pigs"

One popular misconception about the Panthers that is encouraged by the press is that they preach violence for the sake of violence. The Panthers do believe in self-defense for black people (a belief that is rarely seen as revolutionary when applied to white people). They do not, however, use violence as an organizing technique. They condemn unnecessary use of violence and have helped to quell several riots.

A second common misconception is that the Panthers are anti-white racists. That this is simply not true may be seen by a look at statements of Panther leaders or at the party newspaper. The party is now virtually the only black "militant" group which seeks out and works with white allies. Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Asians are joining in coalition with the Black Panther Party.

Panthers use the word "pig" in referring to police and other members of the oppressive power structure. "Pig" is not a synonym for white. It is a term substituted for "The Man" who displays his UNmanhood by beating people.

Panther Programs

This truth can be seen from the kinds of issues and programs the party organizes around. The ten demands that Newton and Seale drew up in October 1966 still form the core of the Black Panther Party program. They are demands for rights so basic that it is outrageous that they even need to be made on behalf of millions of Americans. The Panthers demand jobs or guaranteed income, decent housing, education, and fair trial by their peers for all black people. Their tenth demand incorporates the entire Declaration of Independence.

Currently, the Panthers are circulating petitions for community control of police. But party members' most impressive activities are probably the various services they provide in the ghetto. The Panthers are now feeding more than 40,000 children free hot breakfasts every morning. In addition, they are recruiting doctors and nurses to treat poor people free of charge. They are planning to train party members to teach nutrition and hygiene. They are distributing free clothing. They are informing people of their rights under police questioning and under welfare laws.

Bullet Holes Give Evidence of Police Assault on Illinois Black Panther Office.

Bobby Seale calls the breakfast program "socialism by example". By proving that such services can be provided for ghetto residents, the Panthers show that the Government could do the same but does not really want to. Because they are there to defend the people's interest when no one cares, the Panthers could be a force for stability in the ghettos.

Increasing Repression

But the Panthers are having to carry out their programs in the face of increasing repression. With the arrest of David Hilliard, Party Chief of Staff, on December 4, all party leaders are either dead, jailed, or exiled. The Chicago and Los Angeles raids are only the latest in a series. The New Haven murder case is one of several instances in which a large number of party members have been charged with conspiracy to commit a crime.

It must now be clear to most Americans that police and government officials are conducting a full-scale, coordinated campaign aginst the Black Panther Party. Thanks to press distortion and inaccuracy, it is perhaps not yet clear—though it is true—that all this legal machinery is mobilized against the Panthers *because* of their political beliefs, not because they are dangerous criminals.

It is only natural that the people who are responsible for making and enforcing law in this country should have an interest in preventing basic changes in the system which they help control. When someone seems to challenge the basis of the existing system, those in control can use—and misuse—all the legal machinery to meet that challenge.

Nature of Panther Challenge

Even though they also demand that this country live up to some of its proclaimed ideals, the Panthers do seriously question some of the principles around which American Society is organized.

Their most potent challenge is directed at law enforcement institutions.

Faced with rhetoric and actions like the Panthers', our police and courts cease to be (if they ever really were) impartial protectors of the whole society's interests. An incident which shows that the police do become partisans fighting in their own interests took place in New York City in September 1968: A group of off-duty policemen beat up Panthers and supporters in a city courthouse. No on-duty police interfered or arrested the attackers at that time.

Officials in Washington have made it plain that they consider the Black Panther Party politically dangerous and are looking for ways to destroy the party. The Justice Department has a task force to investigate the party. Attorney-General Mit-

chell has admitted that party members have been kept under electronic surveillance. J. Edgar Hoover has said that of all the "violence-prone black extremist groups, the Black Panther Party without question represents the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

Police Harassment

Oakland police began to harass Panthers soon after Panthers began following police as armed observers. Panthers were stopped and questioned or arrested in connection with every ghetto crime. Pictures of known party members could be seen posted in Oakland police stations.

This "routine" harassment is now something that Panthers all across the country have to contend with. It is precisely because of the function police serve in this society that this harassment is hard to document, harder to stop. Panthers say that a party member recently shot by police in Los Angeles had, in three months, been arrested twice for murder and three times for robbery, each time without cause. He had been given an average of two traffic tickets per week.

Immediately after John Huggins' murder last January, police raided the house where he had lived, arresting his wife with her three-week-old baby. Ericka Huggins and 16 others were charged with conspiracy to commit assault with a deadly weapon—but the charges did not stick.

Panther Homes Invaded

Many Panthers' homes have been invaded without search warrents this way Police can do this if they have "probable cause" to believe that a crime has been committed or that evidence will disappear if they wait. But in many such raids the police have not arrested anyone or turned up evidence of a crime.

The San Francisco Tactical Squad shoved its way into Eldridge Cleaver's apartment at 3:30 a.m. on January 16, 1968. They had no warrant. Ignoring the Cleavers' protests, they scattered personal belongings, screamed obscenities at Kathleen Cleaver, then left. When they raided Cleveland Brooks' home (as well as John Huggins' house after his murder), police tore down posters of Huey Newton and other radical leaders.

Bobby Seale's home was invaded in the same way in February, 1968. The Seales and four others were arrested. But a Superior Court judge later held the arrests illegal and called the policeman who was responsible a liar.

Panther Offices Raided

Raids on Panther Party offices began, perhaps, with the day Huey Newton's trial ended: two men in a police car pulled up in front of national party headquarters and shot the building full of holes. Patrolmen Robert Farrell and Richard Williams were released immediately after their arrest on $3000 bond. (Compare this with the $100,000 bail set for each Panther arrested in New York in April on the false charge of conspiracy to commit a crime that was never actually committed.)

"What Worries Me, Senator, Is That They're Getting Into Step."

The raids have been officially sanctioned lately. After the New Haven murder arrests, police looking for fugitives raided party offices in Seattle , Chicago, Denver, Salt Lake City, Indianapolic, Des Moines and Detroit. Almost every time, they confiscated or destroyed office equipment, literature, medical supplies and money, often for the Children's Breakfast Program. Last week's raid on the Chicago office was at least the fifth such attack since June.

In August a Bay Area underground paper printed a plan, taken from a desk in the Berkeley police station, for a full-scale attack on national Black Panther Party headquarters. Berkeley's police chief did not deny that this plan had been prepared by his men. He thought it was probably the work of a couple of sergeants who were acting on orders from the captain. Forty other cities, he said, have such "contingency" plans.

The Los Angeles battle of December 8 is evidence that such "contingency plans" are already being put into effect. Before that attack came not only the raids and incidents described above, but several other shootings that involved Panthers and police. Police point to such shootings as evidence of the need for more raids on the Panthers. The Panthers say that police are maliciously and illegally attacking them and point to the shootings as an argument for self-defense.

"We're Going to Get You"

The problem is that no violent confrontation between Panthers and police has ever been satisfactorily explained. Certainly no Panther has been shown to have used a gun in anything but self-defense.

Huey Newton, for example, was tried for murder following an incident on October 28, 1967, in which he was severely wounded and a policeman was killed. Evidence of Newton's guilt was so scarce and doubtful that the jury—perhaps afraid to acquit Newton—came in with a verdict of voluntary manslaughter.

The shootout that ended in revocation of Eldridge Cleaver's parole has also never been explained. Whatever the reasons for the shooting, the actions police took to get Cleaver and Bobby Hutton out of an Oakland basement would have been unthinkable if the setting had not been a ghetto and the trapped men had not been Panthers. One woman's house was conpletely destroyed in the barrage of bullets and tear gas. When 16-year-old Bobby Hutton came out of the basement, unarmed and completely blinded by tear gas, he was shot to death by police who claimed that he tried to escape.

There were no witnesses to an October 18 shooting in Los Angeles. Panther Walter Pope was killed. Police claim they were ambushed by two men. But Panther Leaders say that police had told Pope, "We're going to get you."

The murder of Fred Hampton last week is another in the escalating attempt of the U.S. government to wipe out the Black Panther Party. Black people have been murdered in this country for hundreds of years. Proud and organized black people who stand up and demand what is rightfully theirs are a threat to the powers that be—they see that the only way to end this murder is to change the system that perpetuates it.

FREE THE CONNECTICUT PANTHERS!

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Town Meeting Speaks Out against Viet War

Nearly 80 people gathered at a town meeting, Sunday, December 14, to express their views on American involvement in the Vietnam war. The meeting was called by a broad-based, non-partisan group, the Committee for a Town Meeting. It was planned as a continuation of the Fall Offensive Against the War in Vietnam and especially as a way of discussing the sentiments raised at the November 15, Washington D.C. rally on a local basis.

Of the 20 who spoke at the open microphone, 17 favored immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, and three favored Nixon's stated policy of eventual withdrawal from the Southeast Asian country.

Gary Garibaldi, a veteran of World War II and past Commander of three veterans organizations, chaired the meeting. He allowed all speakers 10 minutes to express their opinions.

Alan Kay of AIM expressed the thoughts of many of the speakers in favor of immediate withdrawal when he explained what true patriotism is.

"Which is more in the American spirit, a dictatorial regime which denies people their rights of representative government and of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' or a people who find themselves oppressed and then attacked by another nation. Think about it: the National Liberation Front, by opposing what America has done to Vietnam, is acting in the true American spirit. And the American government, by acting toward Vietnam as England did toward the American colonies is being un-American. It is violating the principles to which we have pledged allegiance All good, true and patriotic Americans should—must—oppose our government as un-American, and support the NLF as being in the true American spirit of seeking freedom and basic human rights being denied them by an oppressor."

One theme stressed by many speakers was not to limit attention to the war in Vietnam. Doug Pomeroy, of the Black Panther Party, said that it is essential to start "fighting fascism at home." He was concerned with the people who had come to the meeting to deal with a problem in a foreign country while avoiding the domestic situation, the basic problem.

Several other speakers picked up on this theme of speaking out and preventing fascism from becomeng full-blown.

There will be other activities around the war that will relate it to problems here. Hopefully more people will get involved in these efforts. The events are now being planned, and will be announced soon.

NIXON SAID: "THERE IS NO SINGLE IDEAL TO WHICH THIS ADMINISTRATION IS MORE FIRMLY COMMITTED THAN TO THE ENRICHING OF A CHILD'S FIRST FIVE YEARS OF LIFE."

South Vietnam NLF Sends Letter of Support

Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, has sent a letter to the American people in connection with their fall offensive for an end to the U.S. war in Vietnam.

Dear Friends,

This fall offensive launched by the American people is more stirring and broader than any other previous campaign in the history of the United States, with the participation of the people of all walks of life without distinction as to colour of the skin, and under very diversified forms. In the interest and for the honour of the United States, you are holding aloft the banner of the tradition of freedom and democracy of the United States and opposing the war of aggression in Vietnam.

From the five continents, the world's people are warmly welcoming and supporting you. We, the Vietnamese people in the South, convey to you our very cordial and friendly greeting.

Since taking office, the Nixon administration has stubbornly refused to end its war of aggression and to bring all U.S. troops home. American youths continue to die a useless death in Vietnam. More than one million U.S., puppet and vassal troops daily and hourly are feverishly sowing death and destruction on our beloved land.

This fall, you have resolutely and plainly told the U.S. ruling circles that the problem is to end the war, not to drag it out; to withdraw all U.S. troops, not to maintain their presence in Vietnam, to respect the right of real self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, not to support a warlike and rotten administration rigged up by the U.S. and which the South Vietnamese people are demanding to overthrow.

We, the South Vietnamese people, ardently cherish peace, but there can be no peace so long as the U.S. troops trample upon South Vietnam. We demand that the U.S. government withdraw all its troops and the troops of other foreign countries in the U.S. camp from South Vietnam and without setting any condition, and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs.

So long as the U.S. government does not end its war of aggression in South Vietnam, the South Vietnamese people will continue to use their legitimate right of self-defense, to fight persistently in order to wrest back their genuine independence, freedom and peace. We firmly believe that with the sympathy and strong support of the progressive people in the United States and the epace-loving people in the world, the South Vietnamese people will certainly realize their objective, namely independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and ultimate reunification of their country.

We wish you get greater successes in this fall offensive.

G.E.: PLASTIC

by Jennifer Smith

147,500 GE workers throughout the nation are still on strike despite the effort of the fourth largest industrial corporation in the United States to break them. After 20 years of company-fostered disunity, GE workers have seen clearly what it was that the company was doing to them.

Twenty years ago, militant striking Bridgeport GE workers surrounded City Hall and so brought against themselves the pressures of a multi-million dollar industrial complex and the government. Strong doses of McCarthyism were used. Appeals to patriotism to break the "Commie-ridden UE" were made by the press and certain politicians. American workers fighting for their rights were accused of being foreign agents.

At a recent meeting with Bridgeport AIM members a union leader in Bridgeport told us how it was then. How he had been so impressed by the appeals to patriotism and the flag waving that he had left UE and worked actively against its existence. Years later he realized he had been a victim of the biggest con game on earth. GE was left with a company union as it had wanted. The union leader then changed back once more to UE and is now struggling to recreate what Bridgeport GE workers once had: an active strong union.

And what of the patriotism of GE? GE's link with the Nazi Krupp armaments empire is conveniently forgotten. Its Nazi deal to profiteer on tungsten carbide urgently needed by the United States in World War II was finally broken and, in 1948, GE was convicted.

Again GE is eagerly proclaiming its patriotism" as it takes on the task of leading the Nixon Administration's fight against inflation by resisting needed wage increases and cost of living protection for workers. The flag-waving loses its fervor, however, when GE Board Chairman Borch in 1968 received an increase of $36.00 an hour. The "patriotism" of GE that curbs inflation somehow isn't needed when a man, whose salary in 1967 totaled $425,000, received an increase of $75,000.

The patriotic curb on inflation is revived when dealing with GE pensions. The pensions of most GE hourly employees retiring since 1966 are $4.50 per month for each year service. The pensions of employees who retired before 1966 are much lower.

Patriotic anti-inflationary attitudes are not needed when GE Chairman Borch is allotted a pension of $116.00 per month for each year of service, for a total pension of $5094.00 a month upon retirement.

One thing sure is that GE hopes to accomplish the same thing in 1969 as it did 20 years ago. They're banking on the success of a call to "patriotism" and the spectre of Communism to break the union's strength and give them a company union to work with.

This patriotic and anti-inflationary company has a long record of convictions for price-fixing second to no other corporation. The most infamous was exposed in 1961. The company and high echelon executives were convicted 19 times and fined $437,500 for conspiring with other companies on price-gouging the government, public utilities and consumers in the sale of almost two billion dollars worth of electrical equipment. This overpricing drives the cost of living up.

During the last three-year agreement GE workers were losing 30 cents an hour because of rising living costs and-more because of rising federal, state, and local taxes. The company's total net profit for that three-year period passed the billion dollar mark totalling $1,057,000,000. Never before has GE made as much in a three-year period. Even in the past, profitable war years were considerably lower: 1942-44 GE's wartime profits total $161 million and during the three years of the Korean War, 1950-52, GE's profits totalled $489 million.

GE denies its workers their reasonable demands. GE wishes to deny totally demands for adequate cost of living protection. Many GE pensions are so low that their recipients must go on welfare to exist, yet the GE workers have contributed millions to the GE pension fund which now stands at two billion dollars. The company will not grant adequate pension increases.

GE refuses to grant a non-contributory insurance plan for employees and their dependents. GE also refuses to grant women equal minimum pay with men. The company will not agree to pay equal wages in the North and South. These minimal demands are refused, and GE proclaims itself patriotic because, thus, it is fighting inflation.

GE's super-patriotism obviously can be measured in dollars and cents. Super-profits and price-gouging are causes of super-inflation, which robs both consumers and workers. GE must not be allowed to defeat its workers. If they do, other huge corporations seeing that Boulwarism is still alive and working will use the same methods to deny American workers in every union and employment their rightful earnings.

"Worse than traitors in arms are the men who, pretending loyalty to the Flag, feast and fatten on the misfortune of the nation."

—Congressional Committee Report, 1863

PATRIOTISM FOR PROFITS

BOYCOTT ALL G.E., HOTPOINT AND UNIVERSAL PRODUCTS
BOYCOTT
DON'T BUY
freezer
IF YOU GET ONE FOR CHRISTMAS, EXCHANGE IT BEFORE NEW YEARS!

Already in Bridgeport, the spectre of McCarthyism has revived. Picket lines are photographed in an obvious attempt at intimidation. IUE has made an agreement with the police to conduct a peaceful picket and to allow scabs through the line, which may prevent police harassment but does not build the morale of strikers.

Bridgeport AIM, when it offered aid to UE, was told that while the help and support was welcome and needed, it was likely that IUE would be afraid to take advantage of it. Unfortunately, this has proved true. The memory of the red-baiting years are still fresh in many Bridgeporters' minds. Fear of being accused of being "Commie-infiltrated", or fronts for outside organizations, has caused IUE to refuse to allow even members of other unions to join their picket lines. This week a UAW member was told that he could not join the line.

Obviously, the greatest danger at this time is that the alliance between IUE and the more militant UE be shaken.

In many instances, Bridgeport strikers are refusing strike pay if they are single or have part-time work, in order that their pay may go to men with families whose needs are greater. But the holiday season is here, and when most of us are spending more, GE strikers will be going without. At present, it seems that the most needed and wanted help is money.

Make no mistake, the GE strikers are fighting for all of us. If they lose, we all lose in the struggle to regain some of the value of our labor that is stolen every day by capitalist corporations. Support yourselves and the GE strikers by sending any contribution you can to the UE and IUE locals in Bridgeport. Also, boycott all GE products during the strike.

This article is the third in a series telling the general history of women in the United States, a history which is left out of our textbooks.

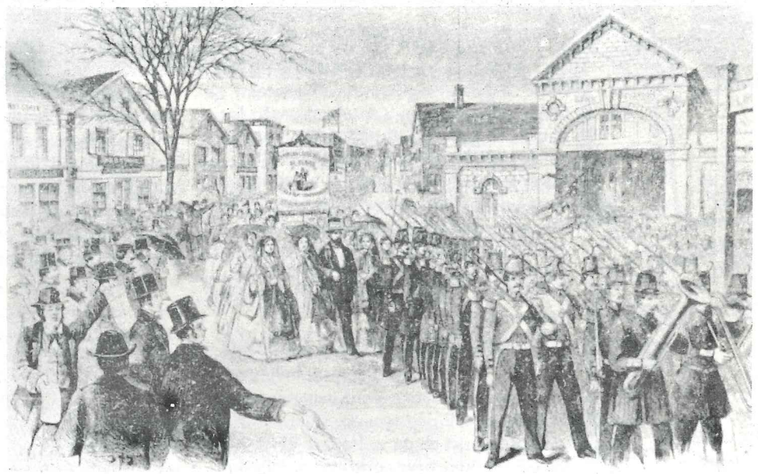
LOST HERITAGE: Women Start To Struggle

by Casi Kushel

In America the wounds of the Revolution healed faster than anyone would have imagined. Free from England, the States began to build an industrialized society that would soon rival and then surpass the countries of the old world.

The astounding growth of the factory system between 1790 and 1830 was a major factor in the birth of the struggle for women's rights in this country. Although factory work helped women escape from the drudgery of their home lives and offered them an opportunity to earn wages and take their place in society as paid workers, the "opportunity" turned out to be a new kind of exploitation. Women came to be regarded as a source of wealth.

Women rushed to these factories. In the beginning, the New England towns they fled to took the responsibility for their care. Women were housed in dormitories and were provided some minimum educational and religious tools and paid small salaries. They were actually treated as if they were in servitude, and were bound to stay in the town for at least a year. They were forced to work 12 to 13 hours a day and to live in company boarding houses with strict rules. House mothers enforced the living standards set by the company to make the work respectable. As the industrial system grew, the power of the men who owned the factories grew, and their small sense of responsibility to the workers disappeared in the push for profits.



Women shoemakers of Lynn, Mass., striking for higher pay, 1860

Women Workers as Machines

Within a few years, an agent of one of the largest mills in Fall River answered this way when asked whether his company assumed any responsibility for the physical intellectual and moral welfare of the factory workers, who were still almost all women:

"We never do. As for myself, I regard my people just as I regard my machinery. So long as they can do the work for what I choose to pay them, I keep them, getting out of them all I can. What they do or how they fare outside my walls I don't know, nor do I consider it my business to know. They must look out for themselves as I do for myself. When my machines get old and useless, I reject them and get new, and these people are part of my machinery."

This brutal attitude was the rule, not the exception. The world in which American women existed was altered forever, and a new strength and will began to develop in these women. Eventually they joined together in struggle to demand their rights. In the mill town of Lowell Massachusetts, women struck against a reduction in already meager wages in 1836. By 1845 a woman's labor organization and newspaper had been organized by one worker named Sarah Bagley. She called her paper "Voice of Industry".

At the same time the spirit of the American woman was growing, a free spirit and superb intellect reached across from England to the new world, to touch the lives of women everywhere. Her name was Mary Wollstonecraft. Her brilliant book **Vindication of the Rights of Women** set England on its ear and found its way into the libraries of intelligent women and literate men in the States. The book was damned and forbidden, but read and reread.

The book skillfully examined the position of women in light of existing civilization and demanded for them the best possible education, industrial opportunities, political knowledge and full representation in government.

Men who feared that women would begin to neglect their "responsibilities" in the home tried to discredit the book by attaching infamy to Wollstonecraft's name. The clergy cooperated by throwing her out of church. Her personal life was sifted through scandal-mongering hands...all in the hope that "respectable" women would refuse to accept her or her ideas. But ideas once freed have a life of their own.

Harriet Martineau

Suddenly women whispered to each other of Harriet Martineau,whose **Conversations on Chemistry** book introduced the subject on a wide scale, both in the U.S. and England. Of course, that she was a woman was a well-kept secret at first.

People also spoke of Jane Marcet,who wrote brilliantly of political economy, and of Lady Montagu, who discovered a check to small pox.

Then in 1820, a young woman from Dundee, Scotland, arrived in the States to lecture on politics. Frances Wright, then only 22 years old, preached radical ideas on theology, slavery, education and the social degradation of women. She was denounced from the pulpit and the press, but she continued speaking at great risk to her life. Her voice reached not only women. It was heard by working men, who read of her in the labor press and joined in the cry for free education. Her courage broke the strongest bonds between women and their future liberation...the bonds of silence. If women could talk in public, there was hope of reaching each other, hope of someday forming a nation-wide movement.

Emma Willard

Sensing the winds of change, women like Emma Willard of Berlin, Connecticut, stepped forward to demand the educational possibilities that free women would need to act and think and produce as liberated beings. She realized that the misconception that women's brains were smaller than men's and didn't have the capacity for higher learning was keeping women back.

She felt that women could only break out of this through a systemized course of study. Emma Willard deplored the fact that only the rich could get educated. To try and change this, she made many grants to those who couldn't afford classes.

Emma Willard raised most of the money herself to open a school for women. The school taught botany, chemistry, mineralogy, astronomy, and higher mathematics. There was only one catch. It was necessary for her to teach all of the subjects herself. So she did! She found the best tutors possible and mastered the subjects one by one and taught them to her girls in turn.

As large an accomplishment as Emma Willard's school was, the first institution actually to offer women a curriculum even remotely comparable to that available to men on the college level was Oberlin College, founded in 1833 in Ohio. Oberlin was the first institution to open its doors to any student, regardless of race, color or *sex*

Among the women to graduate from Oberlin was Lucy Stone, who was to be one of the finest leaders of the women's rights struggle. Antoinette Brown, who became the first woman ordained as a minister, also graduated from Oberlin.

Mount Holyoke

The founding of Mount Holyoke College in 1837 is considered the major step in giving importance to women's education. Its founder, Mary Lyon, at first allowed men to act as her agents to raise the money for the school. But the method shamed her, and, anyway, the men failed miserably. So she put on her bonnet and took to the roads. She traveled from town to town, speaking to women of influence and men known to be liberal until the money was raised. It was a job of four long years.

One of the things that made Mount Holyoke so important was the fact that the women took entrance exams: these women were not to be trained simply to be better mothers and wives. Also, the course of study was three years instead of two. Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke opened the way for Vassar (1865), Smith and Wellesley (1875) and Bryn Mawr (1885).

The key women in these schools all saw the importance of educating all women, not just an elite. Mary Lyonwrote in 1834:

"During the past year my heart has so yearned over the adult female youth in the common walks of life, that it has sometimes seemed as if there was a fire shut up in my bones."

Later that year she wrote:

"I have looked out from my quiet scene of labor on the wide world, and my heart has longed to see many (young ladies) enjoying the privileges who cannot for want of means."

The women who would graduate from these schools and others would join hands with the women educated in the factories and the mills: they would step forward together to leadthe fight for unions, the fight for an end to black slavery, and, most important, they would fight and win the struggle for women's suffrage and begin the struggle for real liberation for all women.

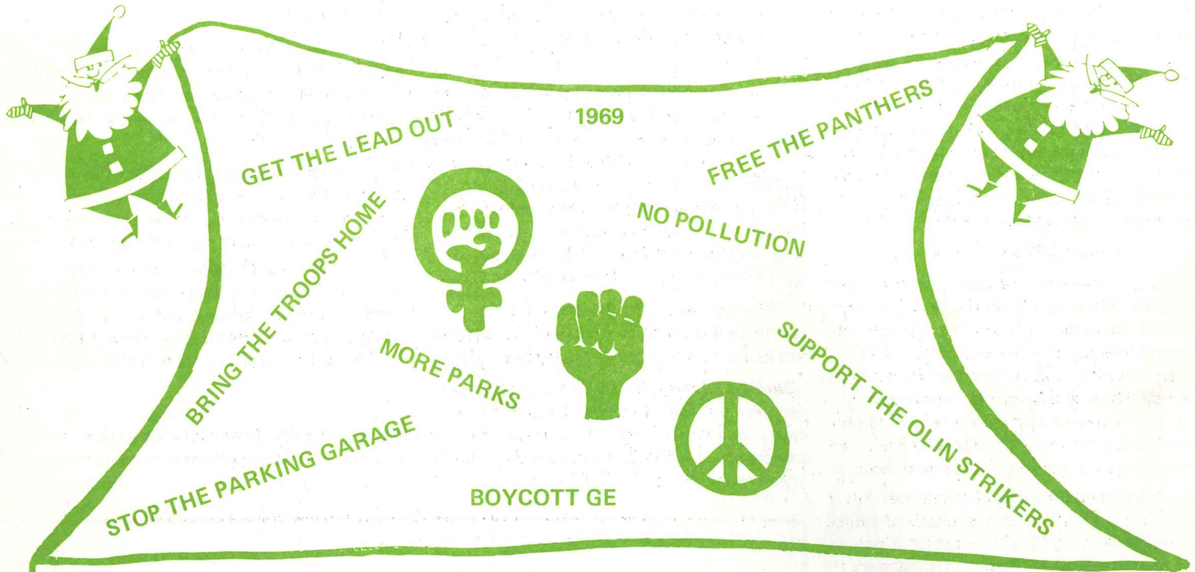
Next: Women's organizations and the problem of black rights before women's rights.

In plain words
I am a school ma'am in the summertime
As now I am a Lady of the Loom

Character is not the stuff inside those factory walls
That circumstances can spoil,—my gospel reads
And if it were, the daughters of our honest yeomanry,
Children of tradesmen, teachers, clergymen
Their own condition make in mingling.

In order to make factory work more "acceptable" for women, schools were set up for the girls during "after hours" Many of the girls at Lowell factory later went on to one of the nearby girls colleges that opened later.

This poem was written by Lucy Larcom, who worked at Lowell on and off from 1825 to 1850. Writing was encouraged to make life seem more pleasant.The company started a paper called "Lowell Offering" for the girls to publish pleasant poems. But later this was countered with a paper called "Voice of Industry" put out by the Female Labor Reform Association.



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